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were ever right on purely ethical and Christian grounds, or obligatory in the higher interests of nations and of mankind, commercial considerations ought in that case to be entirely discarded. It is conceded also that war ought to be opposed primarily because it is morally wrong and inhuman, not because it is financially ruinous.

But we doubt if it be possible to consider the commercial grounds of opposition to war apart from the moral. They make up a part of the moral argument, and a very important part. The loss and crippling of men in war greatly diminishes the productive and trading power of a country. Large numbers of widows and orphans are thrown helpless upon the support of the nation, or left to shift for themselves, with what results to their own character and to the morals of society is only too well known. The bankruptcies and other business disturbances brought on by war and war-scares throw multitudes of families out of employment and often spoil their business prospects for life. The national debts growing out of wars saddle immense and troublesome burdens on coming generations. Private property, often of the perfectly innocent, is destroyed by millions.

The general and widespread disturbance of business, besides creating a strain which often proves to be a powerful incentive to crime and wickedness, interferes with all work for the moral and spiritual improvement of society. The evangelizing work of the church languishes for lack of funds, as well as for other reasons. Educational enterprises of all kinds are crippled. In brief, when war lays its bloody, greedy hand upon the purse of society, it blasts with its deadly touch every interest of the social body, higher as well as lower. It is one of the best known facts of history that a period of war is not only a period of financial wreck and ruin, but of moral and spiritual degeneration as well, and that the latter is in no small measure dependent on the former.

If all this does not constitute a moral argument of great force against war, there certainly is none from a practical standpoint. Any one who can lightly talk of war, having before him all these possible disasters growing out of financial disturbance, has not a particle of patriotism in him, but is through and through an enemy to his country and to all its citizens.

The complexity and world-wide character of business relations in our day make the possible disasters from war indefinitely greater and more far-reaching in their consequences than in former times. Mere talk of war has come to be the deadly enemy of the world's commerce, and through this of every social and intellectual and moral blessing. Business men may therefore well come to the front to help to smother down the very first whispers of war. They would disgrace their calling, if they should do otherwise. If business should succeed in killing war, we should not weep the least that it had not been slain by a better foe.

THE BRITISH NAVAL BUDGET.

PEACE SOCIETY'S APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

The London Peace Society has sent the following powerful appeal to the citizens of Great Britain. It ought to fall like a trumpet blast on their ears and arouse them to a sense of the danger ahead, not only for Great Britain but for all the nations, if the present rivalry of armaments continues.

But it will fall for the most part on deaf ears. The British government, like all others, still believes that "brute force is the final law of society." Even Mr. Gladstone, who said recently that "England has to bear no small share of responsibility for the monstrous and barbarous militarism of Europe," when in power never lifted a finger in direct opposition to it. The British naval power went on growing under his authority and with his approval. Great Britain is, in her way, just as barbarous in her militarism as the rest. She piously boasts of her freedom from the Continental land-system of militarism, but she has increased her guilt on the sea until she is the greatest sinner of them all.

It is through this marine barbarism that she is exercising such a monstrous influence for evil. Wherever her naval power goes she provokes those with whom she comes in contact to imitate her, and when this cannot be done at sea it is done on land. Even our own country, throughout which there has been such strong opposition to military development, even on the sea, is gradually yielding to her influence. We say her influence, for it is her naval extension more than anything else which has provoked naval extension on this side. This is the argument constantly used by the jingoists and by many, who, though not jingoists, are still "conformed to this world," and "walk by fear." Our four new battle-ships and fifteen torpedo boats, which the House of Representatives has just authorized, are probably only the beginning of a much larger naval extension, which there is, we are pained to say, not enough of conscience and good sense in the nation to prevent. And this has been provoked chiefly by England's great war fleet, which will some day be her humiliation, if not her ruin. Let her, as this appeal entreats, begin to save herself from ultimate disaster and disgrace by "reversing this mistaken and fatal policy of nations."

THE APPEAL.

March, 1896.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,—Less than two years ago a memorial was promoted with the knowledge and sympathy of the leaders of both the political parties in this country, asking "that communications should be opened with the European Powers, in order to ascertain whether it may not be possible, as a first step toward arresting the further growth of national armaments, and reducing burdens already almost intolerable, to secure a common and general agreement that, until the close of the century, no

State will sanction any increase of its military and naval expenditure beyond the maximum of the estimates of the present year."

This action was the outcome of a discussion which was then in activity throughout Europe, concerning the steady and alarming growth of armaments, and expressed both the alarm occasioned by that growth, and the desire to check it in time.

Owing to political changes and exigencies, no opportunity was found of presenting that Memorial (which represented altogether over 165,000 persons) and meanwhile the anxieties and fears, and even the prudence, which made so many concur in it, and in the discussions from which it arose, have apparently died away.

For, the naval estimates which are now under discussion reveal a sudden and unprecedented development of what Mr. Gladstone recently called "the monstrous and barbarous militarism", in regard to which England has to bear no small share of responsibility."

Evidence of this responsibility lies in the fact that on every occasion of fresh expenditure by this country, the military burdens of all our neighbors have been at once made appreciably heavier. What these mean the following figures will show:

In the interval between 1869 and 1892 the annual cost of the armies and navies of Europe rose from £116,732,583 to £203,050,000, and, since then, to over £230,000,000. In 1872 the national debts of Europe, which are almost entirely the results of militarism, had reached the bewildering sum of £4,689,014,000, whereas now they have risen to over £6,000,000,000, and are still increasing, so that the period is rapidly approaching, anticipated by M. Gambetta, when not only Frenchmen, but the whole of Europe, will all be "beggars in front of a barrack."

These enormous expenditures leave the nations engaged in this "mad rivalry" in relatively the same position as before, while each involves a permanent addition to the annual expenditure.

Our naval estimates for the present year amount to the unparalleled sum of nearly 22 millions of pounds, which is £4,456,900 more than the expenditure of the last year, 1894-5. In 1881, the Navy Vote was £10,511,840; in 1891, £14,125,358, with an additional £1,428,571 for naval defences; in 1895, £17,544,000; and in 1896, £21,823,000. It will thus be seen that in fifteen years the annual naval expenditure, besides the special vote of £1,428,000, which went on for several years, has more than doubled.

In addition to this, a special expenditure has been determined upon for ship-building and naval works of £17,450,000.

Exclusive of this, however, the total expenditure on the Army and Navy, which in 1881 was £25,784,000, is, as stated recently in the House of Commons, over 41 million pounds, which, together with the 24 millions for the National Debt, reaches the enormous and unprecedented total of 64 millions.

Nothing has occurred during the year to necessitate this enormous outlay, and what is most noteworthy is that this expenditure is discussed with scarcely a word of regret that such an outlay is believed to be necessary.

If it were indeed essential, it is not the less a discredit to our international relations that it should be necessary. But no necessity is suggested. It is simply the inevitable result, the direct and natural evolution, of that process of growth which has been going on for years, and is accepted as a matter of course.

This Society, however, looks upon the military spirit and the military preparation and defences of a nation at its weakness rather than its strength, and considers all increase of military establishments as tending rather to augment the probabilities of war than to diminish them. But however this may be, the immediate and inevitable results of this continuous development of military preparations must be disastrous. It is a menace to the liberties of a country. It multiplies the elements which produce the miseries and wretchedness of society. It misapplies, and so wastes, the wealth of a nation, which is imperatively required for the comfort and even the sustenance of its enormous populations. It demoralizes the character of a nation, and fosters the habit of looking upon brute force as the final law of society, thus instilling a doubt as to the supremacy and sufficiency of moral forces. The very religious spirit and character of the nation are necessarily injuriously affected by such developments, a fact which is evidenced by the very silence with which they are received, and by the tone of the discussions by which they are promoted. Reliance on the right arm of force is inconsistent with clear perception of, to say nothing of faith in, anything higher.

How long are these things, which are a travesty and contradiction of the religion we profess, and which contravene all the principles of economic policy, to continue unchecked and without protest?

The present, when the tendency to mutual distrust and menace has greatly increased, offers a singular opportunity for this nation, foremost among the civilized nations of the world, to lead the way into a more rational system of international intercourse, and, at the very zenith of its power, to begin by reversing this mistaken and fatal policy of nations, so as to promote and to secure peace by preparing for peace, by exhibiting to the world the illustrious example of a simple reliance in the practice of universal justice and obedience to the Christian law of universal love, to the entire exclusion of all dependence upon brute force in the relations existing between itself and the other nations of the earth, and by promoting the adoption of a legalized system of Arbitration, which would render War, in time to come, all but impossible.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

In order to make room for a part of the stenographic report of the Washington Conference, which we shall complete in the June number, we have been compelled to add eight extra pages to this issue of the *ADVOCATE*, which we hope may prove to all our readers a thoroughly interesting and instructive paper.

The International Peace Congress and the Interparliamentary Peace Conference will both meet this year at Buda-Pesth, Hungary, about the middle of September. The Congress will meet immediately before the Conference. The date will be announced in time, and also the best route to take from this country. There ought to be a large delegation this year from the United States, considering the unusual interest recently awakened in the subject of arbitration and peace. If any of the members or friends of the American Peace Society intend to be in